Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)

(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although ●648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 797 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

648 [191] the "White Fathers" founded the stations of Usumbura (later moved to Marienheim), Mujaga, and Mugera in central Urundi. However, this advance of the Europeans was met with hostility by the Barundi [Rundi], so that from 1900 on German colonial troops under their leaders, Bethe, von Beringe, and von Grawert, had to contend with Kisabo, the king of Urundi, whereupon the Barundi finally recognized the sovereignty of the Germans. This recognition, however, is only nominal, for our power there is much too small to permit the establishment of a German administration in Urundi as yet.

114 Under such circumstances the exploration of Urundi could make no substantial progress. Ethnology alone has been advanced to a high degree by Father J. M. M. van der Burgt, who for many years was active in Urundi as a missionary and published the results of his excellent ethnological studies in Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi which appeared in 1903 through the Dutch Missionary Publishing House at Bois le Duc. The extremely extensive ethnological and ethnographical data, however, are so interspersed in this book with all kinds of historical and [2] linguistic digressions that it is difficult to extract and methodically collate the ethnological data of scientific value.

In view of this situation I decided to devote part of my 1911 expedition to the investigation of Urundi. Therefore, I worked there for a few months, sufficient time to obtain an over-all view which I have endeavored to supplement, as far as possible, by inquiries, correspondence, and other kinds of studies. Setting out from Ruanda in the northwest, I first crossed the northwestern mountain region, the "Mountains of the Moon" with my two companions, Lieutenant Tiller and Dr. Houy, then descended to the great central African depression into the valley of the Ruzizi, then crossed in dugouts the northern end of Lake Tanganyika to the residency, Usumbura, and thereupon traveled through the whole of central Urundi from west to east in a month and further through northern Uha and the Usumbwa states, until finally, at Tabora, I reached the central railroad by which I traveled to Dar es Salaam.

133 western part is the tail end of a range of Archeozoic folded mountains; it consists of crystalline slate with many granite intrusions and outcrops. The boundary between the two formations is a sharp threshold or drop in the terrain running north to south approximately at the longitude of the Mugera missionary station. Toward the east the slate-quartzite plateau also slopes down in an extended gradient at high altitude toward the gneiss and granite plateau of Unjamwesi which I consider an eroded escarpment. A huge tectonic fault scarp is found in the steep western slope of the highland toward the central African graben and toward Lake Tanganyika. Smaller fault depressions in several places extend over the country of Urundi; in fact, the entire interlacustrine region is rich in such tectonic faults. (Cf. the map on opposite page.)

[448] [4] Only a few times have determined enemies invaded Urundi across the high ridges and escarpments in the west and southeast, but this has happened more often from the flatter, more open fronts in the north and northeast. In the north are [101] the proud, warlike neighbors, the Ruanda, in the northeast the restless tribes of the Lake Victoria region: the Bassuwi, Basindja [Linza], Wassumbwa [Sumbwa], and others.

The slate-quartzite plateau of eastern Urundi has been leveled by erosion from meteorological forces over many thousands of years into a large peneplain with long, broad, low ridges (Plate 1a), while in the west the older mountain periphery still rises to a considerable altitude although it has also been worn down and rounded for the most part. The plateau region has an average altitude of 1,600-1,800 meters; the peripheral mountains rise to as high as 3,000 meters. More recent block movements renewed again the process of erosion which had been slowing down, so that in many regions the streams have carved recent, deep valleys into the plateau and the mountain ranges which then divided the region into a great number of large blocks and bastions. However, in still more recent times this process of erosion was again considerably slowed down by other developments. This is apparent from the fact that at present there are rapid streams only in the mountains of the west (Plate 1b), while in the plateau region of the east almost

[86] Chapter 7

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni], Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

●[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [154] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state. [782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- [411] the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders 787 are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read 726 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or 727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed. 721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces [648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

643 series of such kings in Urundi. If the king is a weakling, if he
631 lacks the cunning and the capacity for violence and cruelty to inspire fear, which are the necessary characteristics of African rulers -- as, for example, the present weak King Mutaga -- his absolutism is mere show. Then the real rulers are the heads of the royal family, the Baganwa or Abaganwa, who make the royal puppet dance to their tune. These, then, are times when the various provincial governors make themselves independent, when other parts of the country fall under the rule of foreign neighboring sultans (for example, Ujogoma temporarily under Ussuwi), and when anarchy more or less prevails in the entire realm. Concerning the development of these conditions and the present state of affairs, see the chapter, "History," p. 151 ff. [not translated].

643 The present impotence of the monarchy, the weakening
648 of central power, and the disruption of the formerly powerful unified realm have been sanctioned by the German colonial government to its own advantage. At the same time the colonial government is attempting to replace gradually the supreme power of the king with the rule of the German Resident. It cannot eliminate the monarchy as such unless it is prepared to take up the fight against all the Batussi. For this our strength is still not sufficient. However, in the future much will depend on what kind of a man from the old ruling dynasty succeeds the present weak puppet king, Mutaga, and what the attitude of our government to him will be.

643 The succession to the throne is determined by primogeniture
662 in Urundi, unless the king or the head chief decides otherwise. By law he is succeeded by the oldest son of his head wife. Usually, however, the king designates as his successor the one of his many sons who appears most suitable to him, and he bequeathes to him the insignia of royalty, i.e., the holy drum, his spear, and his arm ring. If this decision is made during the lifetime of the king, it is dangerous for the favored son. He will consider it advisable to escape from the jealousy of his brothers and relatives by taking refuge in some distant place until his time comes. If he is still a child, he is hidden by his mother far out of reach

484 825 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

● 648 For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neighborly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 [301] The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

> 1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 651 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 [481] It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] [691] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega. Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 [137] As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high; the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

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How many unfortunate people payed with their lives for having been falsely accused of such supposed misdeeds!

789 648 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders 832 278 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose [824] the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild brambie, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain [302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

789 648 The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

789 desires. At the beginning of his relations with the Whites, Musinga
648 often appeared with a small stick in his hand, the tip of which he would first turn toward himself as he spoke and then toward his interlocutors, in order to influence their answers. This stick was called by the name of uruchubyo, from the word guchubya, which describes the act of driving boiling water back into the pot with a stick of that name. The Blacks saw a certain similarity between the two occurrences. Just as cooks and their helpers keep the liquid from running over by forcing it back to the bottom of the pot, he who possesses a magic stick wards off the evil which his interlocutors might perpetrate upon him (ngo atsind' amagambo mabi). A happy and inoffensive credulity, which does harm to no one!

IV. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects

644 The relations between subjects and sovereign are permeated with a profound respect which is both superstitious and actuated by fear. The Banyarwanda formerly experienced /491/ no feelings toward their monarch other than reverential fear. The stateliness which surrounded the king and the bloody executions which confirmed his absolute power over all things had no small part in the preservation of these feelings, which were closely bound with an attitude of servility. The monarch was a true demigod far superior to other men, hence the following customs and formalities which governed the relations between subjects and sovereign.

1. The king is awakened by drums which are first played at four or five o'clock in the morning. Actually, he does not rise before seven thirty or eight o'clock. At the moment when he leaves his bed, women come and grind a handful of sorghum or eleusine, while a young girl shakes the large gourd (igisabo) which is used for churning.

The aim of these observances is to draw upon the king and the realm the prosperity symbolized by the sorghum, eleusine, and butter. The Impara, or group of initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, then make their appearance.

233
778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

644 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two im-
543 portant solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
292 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King
543 Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
598 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
618 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

during my journey. He controlled the largest country and boasted the largest number of subjects. At the beginning of our acquaintance he certainly did not give the impression of being the most intelligent ruler. Later, however, I was repeatedly convinced that he always made an effort to appear stupid [253] when the wishes of the Europeans were troublesome to him. He tried to gain time by toying with German words whose meaning he pretended to want to know. Thus, he would draw out a visit in order to tire the guest and in the end evade the whole matter under consideration.

On August 10, 1907, I had my first opportunity to see His Black Majesty. At noon I caught up with the main part of the expedition, and around three o'clock Musinga arrived in order to pay a return visit to His Highness the Duke. He was a slender, delicately built young man, 197 centimeters tall, with somewhat squinting, myopic eyes and protruding teeth. He wore a length of red cloth (bendera) over his shoulders and a white loincloth. The latter was held together with a belt to which was fastened the hunting knife which His Highness the Duke had given him the day before. The splendid figures of his retinue made a much more aristocratic and elegant impression than the king himself.

Musinga's ceremonious visit on the next day made an entirely different impression on me. He appeared wearing a diadem, his face veiled, and he was borne in a ngobi, surrounded by the members of his court who were formally dressed in their mukane. He was accompanied by the melodious, albeit wild singing of the Batwa. The entire picture was devoid of European influence and gave the impression of fantastic, indescribable beauty, everything was so perfect, aristocratic, and elegant. The ceremony had great style and was carried out with admirable exactness and distinction. It represented the complete negation of ordinary Negro style as I had observed it among my porters who paraded around in frock coats without pants.

It was not quite clear to me to what extent Musinga has adjusted himself to the new situation brought about by European conquest. He knows that his freedom of action has been somewhat curtailed, but he also knows that he can use government soldiers to suppress small, local revolts and to dun taxpayers who are in arrears. Best of all he knows that Mpumbika, the leader of the

643 followers of the Kissaka pretender, was exiled from the country
648 only with the help of government troops.

Moreover, he hopes that his powerful friend, Tiki-Tiki (Captain W. Von Grawert, the erstwhile imperial resident of Ruanda and Urundi), who has already presented him with cows from Mpororo, will also one day drive the Belgians out of Ufumbiro and Bunyabungu and that he himself, like his father, Lwabugiri, will have sovereign power there.

Musinga, like every Mututsi, hates the Belgians particularly, indeed, much more than all the other disgusting egg-eaters put together. They shot down a great many of Rudegambia's people who tried to thwart their efforts to settle on Lake Kivu. Furthermore, [254] the guiding policy of the Belgians was to exclude the unproductive aristocracy. They wanted to exploit the natives all by themselves, without letting the Batutsi take part. They were even obliged to grant the Bahutu a certain amount of protection as recompense for the heavy burden of provisioning the large occupation forces which were needed to prevent too great an emigration from the Ruzizi-Kivu border territory.

German policy pursues basically the same goals, but the preservation of the old forms of social and political organization and the gradual development of new conditions gave Musinga no opportunity to comprehend the whole nature of the approaching danger, against which he was, of course, completely helpless. Instinctively, however, he foresaw the perilous situation. He ignored the opportunity to enlarge his territorial possessions by unconditional and eager support of the Europeans, as Kahigi from Kyanja had done, nor did he know what to do with Mpororo which had been given to him.

Although government troops have always supported Musinga, it is said that he cannot sleep as long as there is even one Askari in Nyanza. This will suffice to characterize his mental attitude toward the new situation.

Musinga is very vain and susceptible to flattery. For instance, he insists that his court dancers perform better than the most skillful dancers of his chiefs. That is why, after the performances, his first question to His Highness the Duke was which troupe had danced the best. The Duke, who had been tipped off by Father

643 L. Classe, was able to give him the desired pleasure by telling
648 him that his dancers were the best, although the dances of Kanuma's people from Kissaka had made the greatest impression on His Highness as well as on the others present. Musinga, it seems, shared this general opinion, but in order to assure himself that he had correctly understood the Duke, he asked him to have small gifts of glass beads given to his ntore, so that everyone would believe they had actually done the best dancing. Only after this request was carried out, was he content and scornfully looked down on his bagaragu as defeated rivals. With His Majesty's height of two meters and his squinting, myopic eyes, this was a very funny spectacle.

643 This childish, petty vanity, however, is also linked with a considerable degree of mischief. For example, Musinga twice refused the request of Father L. Classe who wanted to take to Issawi the old, broken-down barrel organ that Father Brard had given to the king. In Nyanza it stood in the rain and had become a playground for rats. Musinga maintained that one does not give away something that has been given one as a gift. This was no [431] excuse, for in Ruanda gifts are always passed on, and a watch that had been given to Musinga came back to the giver through a third person at one-twentieth of its market value.

[255] There was another reason why he refused to give back the organ. The instrument was broken, and the missionaries wanted to repair it. Musinga knew that. An object that refused to play for the king should serve the missionaries! Musinga did not care a fig for the organ itself. He did not even express the wish to have it repaired, although he usually plagued his visitors with all kinds of requests in order to tire them.

His attitude toward the phonograph was very interesting. Quite apart from the pleasure which this trick of modern technology gave him, he enjoyed hearing Ruanda songs, even though they were badly reproduced. The European pieces, which were technically much better, did not give him any pleasure and soon disappeared from the repertoire of phonograph concerts. There was only one piece with infantry commands, drums, and flutes which he asked for occasionally. The barrel organ ground out pieces which he did not understand, and that is probably why he paid so little attention to it.

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
669 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

661 642 178 648 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for serious intervention by the European administration becomes an urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 64 178 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

175 643 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga, the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died. These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to

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2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

Ibid., p. 264.

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 643 649 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

[113] 3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113] 1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

up, partly on the personality of the administrative officer of the day, and partly on his own judgement. In any event, conflict with the indigenous system at some points was to be expected, together with permanent modifications to give expression to the alteration of the status of the Hutu.

The System of Marriage in Bugufi

(*as disclosed by Native Court records*)

The normal precedent to marriage is formal betrothal, which must be effected by members of a woman's family, and a contract which she makes herself or through unauthorized persons is void.

Instances: A girl goes to a neighbour, who takes her to the man of her choice and offers her in marriage, the offer being accepted and bride-wealth being paid. Her father is sued for refusing to give the girl in marriage and wins the case, the neighbour who received the bride-wealth being ordered to refund it.

A man sues another for seducing his sister. The defence is that he and she agreed to marry. The Court finds that there could be no agreement since there were no witnesses of any kind, much less the woman's mother or brother who ought to have been present.

But there is a case of this rule being overridden by a wealthy man.

A man, brought to Court by a woman's guardian for seducing her, says that he wishes to marry her and considered himself wealthy enough to dispense with the usual preliminaries, and in any case did not know who her relatives were. He is fined, but is permitted to pay bride-wealth and marry the woman. The Court adds that the fine would have been larger had not the woman expressed her desire to marry the man.

The neighbour cited above who acted as the woman's agent had only to refund the bride-wealth which he had received: but in another case a man was imprisoned for enticing away a woman and giving her in marriage without her father's knowledge or consent.

Betrothal is only binding for a reasonable time.

Instances: A woman having been betrothed and the man having delayed to come to complete the marriage, her father marries her off to another man and refunds the bride-wealth.

A woman is betrothed to one man and married off to another. It is found that the former has been looking for bride-wealth for eight years, and he is held to have no justification for claiming the woman.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

(about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

The interior highlands, which have been compared to the massif of Abyssinia and to the mountains of Bohemia, or even to Switzerland and Tibet, are not very large. Their longest north-south extent in a straight line is about 100 miles, the extent from west to east being about 140 miles. The area of present-day Ruanda is 26,338 square kilometres (10,166 square miles). In 1907 Professor Jan Czekanowski, a member of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition to Central Africa, estimated it to cover about 28,900 square kilometres.[2]

The climatic effects of equatorial latitude are mitigated by the elevation. In the Congo-Nile mountain chain the temperature may drop to freezing point, but the greater part of Ruanda enjoys a temperate climate. The average is about 20° C. (68° F.), and the maximal variations (which are greater between day and night than between the seasons) rarely exceed 10° C. (18° F.) above or under the average. In the eastern lower part the temperature is, of course, higher.

Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[3] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[2] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [3] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 65.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948–52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Issavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organization Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9–11, 83–8.

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343–7.

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inzu. Their inclusion depended on the situation of Ego's generation with regard to the ancestor recognized as the originator of the group. Suppose a new inzu had begun with F (Diagram B), in the sense that F's descendants referred to themselves as 'people of F' rather than as 'people of A' (as F referred to himself). In that case, Ego would not consider E (FaFaFaFa) as of his inzu although he knew that he was the father of his great-grandfather.

Or suppose that D was considered as the origin of the inzu. In that case Ego's son, J, was separated from D by five links. It was quite possible that if, for instance, G had had many children and had been a man of standing and repute, J and K (and all G's descendants in their generations) would some day refer to themselves as 'people of G'. As long as Ego was living, however, J would consider himself as a member of the same inzu as his father and Ego would not think of his son as belonging to another inzu. One informant, Kayijuka, told us that one of his great-grandchildren will probably take the initiative in forming the new inzu of 'people of Kayijuka'.[8]

Although the inzu was a transitory group about six generations deep, it must be understood that the formation of a new inzu was not rigidly determined and did not automatically happen at the birth of the first child in the seventh generation. The operative factors were mainly the fast growing number of inzu members after a few generations (in genealogies collected, the sixth

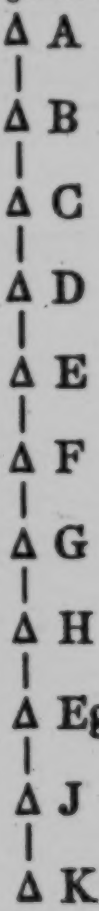

Diagram B.

[8] This was no boast as Kayijuka is now a very important political personality in Ruanda. It may be of interest to mention that Kayijuka was at the court, as a young nobleman, when the first Europeans entered the country. At that time there was a considerable amount of suspicion on both sides. A missionary asked him to point out the queen-mother among the women who were present at the Court. This was prohibited as it was feared that the White Fathers could harm her by magic. Kayijuka did it, however, and for that reason, when the visitors had gone, he was blinded with a red hot iron. But as on the following day he addressed somebody by name after having recognised the voice, it was believed that the operation had not been a success and it was performed a second time. Kayijuka is now a loyal courtier of the king.

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and

564 582 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi informants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that

[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.

[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to

[562] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could

[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu

[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting intermarriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 569 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the

582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole, 648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and particularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu. They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to administrative charges in one part of the country, then in another one. Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkazibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[9] This should, however, be qualified in the *buhake* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[9] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.